

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 200743

61

ORIGIN INR-07

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00

DODE-00 /041 R

DRAFTED BY INR/REA/NA:EAWAYNE/EB

APPROVED BY INR/DDR:MPACKMAN

EA/PRCM:GWFOX

EA:NSILVER

INR/REA:HEHOROWITZ

----- 106535

R 122021Z AUG 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

S E C R E T STATE 200743

NOT RELEASABLE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: CH, PINT, MILI

SUBJECT: PLA AND THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN

1. FOLLOWING FOR YOUR INFORMATION IS INR SPECIAL ANALYSIS
ON THE PLA AND THE CURRENT SCENE IN CHINA.

2. BEGIN SUMMARY. RECENT CANCELLATION OF PEKING'S TRADI-
TIONAL ARMY DAY CELEBRATION DUE TO EARTHQUAKE LEFT UNAN-
SWERED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS CONCERNING CHINA'S TOP MILITARY
COMMAND AND THE PLA'S ROLE IN THE CURRENT ANTI-RIGHTIST
CAMPAIGN. SINCE THE CAMPAIGN BEGAN LAST FEBRUARY, THE
MILITARY HAS NOT PLAYED AN ACTIVE ROLE, ESPECIALLY IN
CRITICIZING TENG HSIAO-P'ING'S MILITARY LINE. IMPORTANT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 200743

ELEMENTS IN THE PLA SUPPORTED TENG'S MODERNIZATION PLANS

AND NO DOUBT CONTINUE TO FIND HIS POLICIES IN THEIR INTER-EST. A NUMBER OF JUNE AND JULY CENTRAL MEDIA ARTICLES CRITICIZING TENG'S MILITARY LINE HAVE NOT BEEN WIDELY REPLAYED BY PROVINCIAL MEDIA, SUGGESTING THAT REGIONAL AUTHORITIES--MANY OF WHOM ARE MILITARY MEN--DO NOT WISH TO GET INVOLVED. END SUMMARY

3. PEKING ARMY DAY CANCELLED

THE CANCELLATION LEFT A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS UNRESOLVED:

--BANQUET ATTENDANCE LISTS COULD HAVE CLARIFIED THE TOP LEADERSHIP LINE-UP WITHIN THE PLA, SPECIFICALLY THE RELATIVE POSITIONS OF AGED DEFENSE MINISTER YEH CHIEN-YING AND VICE PREMIER AND TOP PLA COMMANDER CHEN HSI-LIEN;

--ATTENDANCE MIGHT ALSO HAVE SHED LIGHT ON THE CCP MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMISSION, WHICH OVERSEES THE PLA; SEVERAL SOURCES HAVE INDICATED THAT A LEFTIST BID FOR POWER HAS BEEN UNDERWAY WITHIN THE MAC FOR SOME TIME;

--THE TURNOUT WOULD HAVE PROVIDED INFORMATION ON THE STATUS OF NUMEROUS REHABILITEES WHO WERE BROUGHT BACK ON RECENT ARMY DAYS AND WHO MAKE UP ABOUT 1/3 OF THE PLA'S CENTRAL HIERARCHY; IT MIGHT ALSO HAVE INDICATED WHETHER REHABILITATIONS ARE CONTINUING;

--AN EDITORIAL OR BANQUET SPEECH MIGHT HAVE PROVIDED A CLUE TO THE EXTENT OF LEADERSHIP AGREEMENT OR DISAGREEMENT OVER THE ARMY'S ROLE IN THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN.

4. CRITICISM OF TENG'S MILITARY LINE

SINCE FEBRUARY, PEKING WALL POSTERS AND CENTRAL MEDIA ARTICLES HAVE CRITICIZED TENG FOR:

--TRYING TO MAKE THE ARMY AN ORGAN UNDER STATE, NOT PARTY, CONTROL;

--EMPHASIZING WEAPONS AND MILITARY MODERNIZATION OVER MEN
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 200743

AND "REVOLUTIONIZATION" IN IMPLEMENTING THE 1975 PLAN TO UPGRADE THE PLA;

--CLAIMING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION CREATED FACTIONALISM, ARROGANCE AND INDISCIPLINE IN THE ARMY;

--OPPOSING THE PROMOTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE TO PLA LEADERSHIP POSITIONS, RELYING INSTEAD ON REHABILITEES;

--TRYING TO MAKE THE PLA A PURELY MILITARY FORCE, ELIMINATING ITS COLLATERAL WORK AND PRODUCTION DUTIES; AND,

--ARGUING THAT INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION MUST BE GIVEN PRIORITY OVER AGRICULTURE TO STRENGTHEN THE PLA AND THAT THE URBAN MILITIA MUST BE ELIMINATED SINCE ITS ACTIVITIES DETRACT FROM THE EFFORTS TO BOOST PRODUCTION.

THESE CHARGES ARE DESIGNED TO APPEAL TO A BROAD SPECTRUM OF CIVILIAN AND MILITARY ELEMENTS INCLUDING: THOSE FAVORING PARTY "CONTROL OVER THE GUN"; THOSE PREFERRING A "PEOPLE'S WAR" STRATEGY OVER A MORE EXPENSIVE CONVENTIONAL APPROACH; YOUNGER MILITARY CADRE WHO HAVE NOT BEEN GETTING AHEAD; COMMANDERS WHO MAY LOSE INFLUENCE AS THE PLA IS RESTRUCTURED AND MODERNIZED.

5. LIMITED RESPONSE FROM THE MILITARY REGIONS

JUDGING BY PROVINCIAL MEDIA OUTPUT THUS FAR, RESPONSE WITHIN THE MILITARY REGIONS (MR'S) TO CRITICISM OF TENG'S MILITARY LINE HAS BEEN LIMITED. NOTABLE EXCEPTIONS HAVE BEEN THE SHENYANG MR AND TIBET. SHENYANG COMMANDER, LI TE-SHENG, HAS LONG BEEN THOUGHT TO LEAN TO THE LEFT, AND ONE REPORT DESCRIBES HIM AS AN OPPONENT OF TENG'S MODERNIZATION PROGRAM. MOREOVER, LI'S 1974 TRANSFER FROM PEKING AND DEMOTION WITHIN THE POLITBURO COINCIDED WITH TENG'S RISE. TIBET'S ANTI-TENG VEHEMENCE MAY REFLECT RESENTMENT OF TENG'S REPORTED CALL FOR SENDING "BETTER ADMINISTRATORS" TO CHINA'S FRONTIERS IN HIS 1975 MILITARY MODERNIZATION SPEECH.

6. SOURCES OF RESISTANCE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 200743

IMPORTANT ELEMENTS IN THE PLA, HOWEVER, HAVE ALL ALONG SUPPORTED TENG'S MODERNIZATION INITIATIVES AND NO DOUBT CONTINUE TO FIND HIS POLICIES IN THEIR INTEREST:

--MINISTER OF DEFENSE YEH CHIEN-YING, WIDELY RESPECTED IN THE PLA, WAS AN OUTSPOKEN SUPPORTER OF LAST YEAR'S PLA IMPROVEMENT PLANS, WHILE PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG AND THE POWERFUL CH'EN HSI-LIEN REPORTEDLY ALSO GAVE SPEECHES IN SUPPORT OF THAT PROGRAM.

--IT IS REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT UPGRADING WEAPONRY AND A RETURN OF DISCIPLINE AND PROFESSIONALISM HAVE A BROAD APPEAL WITHIN THE PLA.

--THE PLA'S TOP CENTRAL AND REGIONAL LEADERS HAVE SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR BRINGING BACK REHABILITEES AND FAVORING

OLDER CADRE; IN TOP LEVEL SUB-REGIONAL APPOINTMENTS LAST YEAR--WHERE MILITARY REGION COMMANDERS EXERCISE AN IMPORTANT VOICE--ONLY 2 OUT OF 100 NEW APPOINTEES ARE KNOWN TO BE UNDER 50 YEARS OF AGE. PERHAPS NOT INCIDENTALLY, BOTH WERE IN LI TE-SHENG'S SHENYANG MR.

7. SIGNS OF APPREHENSION

AT LEAST SOME ELEMENTS OF THE LEFT MAY BE WORRIED OVER THE PLA'S UNENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE. AN ALLEGORICAL ARTICLE IN JULY 9 PEKING REVIEW APPEARS TO WARN THAT UNLESS MILITARY SUPPORT CAN BE GAINED, MILITARY ELEMENTS MAY UNITE WITH OTHER CONSERVATIVE FORCES TO SUPPRESS THE LEFT; AND A LATE JULY DOMESTIC RADIO ARTICLE CALLED FOR EFFORTS TO ENSURE THAT THE PLA "REALLY BECOMES A STAUNCH FORCE AGAINST AGGRESSION FROM THE OUTSIDE AND CAPITALIST RESTORATION AT HOME." BOTH OF THESE ARTICLES SEEM TO INDICATE A CONCERN THAT GREATER EFFORTS BE UNDERTAKEN TO ENSURE THE ALLEGIANCE OF THE PLA. NEVERTHELESS, DIRECT PRESSURES ON THE MILITARY TO JOIN THE ANTI-RIGHTIST STRUGGLE ARE CONTINUING, AS REFLECTED IN A SERIES OF CENTRAL MEDIA ARTICLES CRITICIZING TENG'S MILITARY LINE IN PREPARATION FOR ARMY DAY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 200743

IN ANY CASE, RESISTANCE ON THE PART OF THE MILITARY IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE. SO FAR ONLY ONE-THIRD OF CHINA'S PROVINCES HAVE INCLUDED MORE THAN PERFUNCTORY ANTI-TENG REMARKS IN THEIR ARMY DAY SPEECHES AND ARTICLES. IN ADDITION ONLY 3 OF 11 MR COMMANDERS MADE PUBLIC APPEARANCES ON ARMY DAY, COMPARED TO 8 IN 1975. KISSINGER

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL MILITARY RELATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 AUG 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE200743
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EAWAYNE/EB
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X2
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760311-0322
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760859/aaaabzio.tel
Line Count: 207
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN INR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NOFORN
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NOFORN
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 MAY 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <17 SEP 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PLA AND THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN
TAGS: PINT, MILI, CH, PLA
To: HONG KONG TOKYO PEKING MULTIPLE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006